THE
MERITS
OF THE
New Adminiſtration
TRULY STATED;
IN
Anſwer to the ſeveral PAMPHLETS and PAPERS publiſhed againſt them.

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WHEN the late Change in the Adminiſtration took place, it was reaſonably expected, that a general Tranquillity would enſue. The Public had no Idea of a Change for the worſe, and His Majeſty granted all, that his diſcontented Subjects could wiſh, in offering the Helm, unconditionally, as we are told, to Mr. PITT, and inviting his preſent Miniſters to accept it, upon that Gentleman's having declined. They had oppoſed the Favourite with Spirit and Perſeverance, and the late Miniſters, as Men, who had acted under him, and who con-

tinued to purſue his Scheme of Government, and probably his Directions, after his Retirement from Office; and they ſtood recommended to the Nation, by their Independency, their unblemiſhed Characters, and their diſtinguiſhed Zeal for Liberty.

Accordingly, all diſintereſted Men flattered themſelves with the Hopes of ſeeing the good Humour of the Nation reſtored. The King had taken a Step, which intitled him more than ever to the Confidence of his People, in committing the Adminiſtration to the Hands of Perſons, who, if their Offices had been elective, would, upon Mr. PITT's Declenſion, have been choſen by the independent Part of the Nation.

But the Clamour of the Few, who were diſappointed on the Occaſion, proved, as it commonly does, much too loud for the Voice of Public Gratitude to be heard; and all, that well diſpoſed Men could ſay, in celebrating the Goodneſs of their King, has been borne down, by the hoarſer Sound, of repeated Invectives againſt the Characters, who compoſe the Adminiſtration.

If

If Government itſelf were an Oppreſſion, invented by the preſent Miniſters, and if their Temper and Character were known to be particularly adapted to the worſt Acts of Oppreſſion, it would have been difficult to form a more virulent Attack upon them from the Preſs, than is contained in the Pamphlets and Papers of ſeveral Months paſt. Without the Pretence of a Grievance, without the Plea of any thing ſuſpicious, in their Principles, Family, Circumſtances or Connexions, they have been inveighed againſt more bitterly, than the moſt oppreſſive Miniſters of former Times.

It ſeems to have been a needleſs Work, to anſwer ſuch Writers, as the beſt Anſwers could not be expected to ſilence Men, who are ſo perfectly indifferent to Facts and Reaſon, that they took up their Pens in the firſt Week of the preſent Adminiſtration, before any thing could be done by the Miniſters, to merit either Cenſure or Praiſe. But, though it muſt be left to Time, to ſilence *them*, every honeſt Man ſhould contribute his Part, towards preſerving the

Minds of his Countrymen from the Pollution of ſo foul a Torrent, and towards delivering his Country from the Danger of a new Species of Government, which deſperate Men, after having been deprived of other Power, are labouring to introduce; a Government, not by King, Lords and Commons, nor by one of the three ſeperately, but by a daily News-Paper.

It would not be an unfair Defence, to place before theſe Gentlemen the Shield, with which they covered the Favourite and themſelves, in the early Part of their Adminiſtration. We all remember the Diligence, with which old Law Books were rummaged, and every Fragment of a Report was ſearched, for Prerogative-Language, to impeach the Loyalty of Men, who differed from them, and to prove, what was never denied, the King's conſtitutional Power, of diſmiſſing one Set of Miniſters, and appointing another.

Their Cauſe required every Support of that Kind; and, as they are very little remarkable for Conſiſtency, it might be expected,

pected, that they would desert this Sort of Argument, when out of Power. But it would have been rather more conformable to the usual Mode of Inconsistency, to have departed from their own Doctrine gradually, instead of attempting to inflame the Nation against this constitutional Act of the Crown, in the Case of other Men, before any Measure of Government had given the least Colour to Clamour and Invective.

The present Ministers have not once alledged this Plea in their own Defence, being either conscious, that the Appointment of them required no Apology, or sensible of what they professed heretofore, that good Character and Conduct will be the best Recommendation of them to their Fellow-Subjects. Yet they had a better Right to shelter themselves under the Power of the Crown, than their Predecessors, as that Power has been exercised in their Favour, merely in consequence of their public Credit and Character. I mention this, without the least Disposition to flatter them, and need not make Excuses for being their Advocate, since every Man has

has a better Right to amuſe his Leiſure, in ſtating their real Merits, with a View to Public Peace, than any Man has, to defame them, with a View to public Confuſion.

The pretended Charges againſt them, contained in the ſeveral Papers and Pamphlets, are few in Number, with the Diſadvantage of appearing ſome of them *falſe*, and ſome *ridiculous*. I ſtate them fairly, in affirming, that they amount to no more than this; that the new Miniſters are under the *Influence* of the *Favourite*, which appears to be *falſe*; that they are recommended to the Crown by the D— of C———, which does them Honour; that they are *diſavowed* by Mr. PITT, which has not yet been *proved*; that they are *young*, which is *partly true*, and not *pertinent*; and that their Adminiſtration will not be *laſting*, which is more than either they can deny, or their Enemies affirm, with *Certainty*. This Mixture of Falſhood, Encomium, Preſumption and Conjecture, is repeated and diverſified every Day, in order to make the Impreſſion, which a plain and intereſting Truth

Truth would have made upon the Underſtandings of Men, without Repetition or Ornament. I ſhall conſider each of theſe Charges, but muſt premiſe, that the only one, which, in my humble Opinion, deſerves Conſideration, is that of the Favourite's Influence, upon which the greateſt Streſs has been laid, as being the moſt popular.

They are ſaid to be the Creatures and Inſtruments of that noble Lord, not by any Operation of his, unknown to them, but by a formal Compact with him. One of the Writers declares, that he has *no doubt*, that the *Favourite has ſtipulated a ſecret Article with the new Miniſters, for the Preſervation of his Power*.

As no *Fact* is produced, to account for this Freedom from all doubt on the Subject, we muſt ſuppoſe the Writer's Opinion, if he really entertains it, to be founded in *Appearances*. Theſe Appearances muſt be either *perſonal Conferences* between the preſent Miniſters and that noble Lord, or a *Correſpondence* between them, neither of which,

which, I am perſuaded, has ever occurred to the Knowledge of thoſe Writers, or of any other Perſon; or there muſt be ſomething in the *Characters* and *Circumſtances* of the Miniſters, in their *former* and *preſent* Conduct, to authoriſe the Charge; or it muſt follow from a *Similarity* of their *Characters* and *Circumſtances* with thoſe of the *late* Miniſters.

If there be not the leaſt Appearance of Dealings with him, in any of theſe Reſpects, then the Charge is *groundleſs*, and, being meant to diſcredit them with the People, it becomes *malicious*.

When they were called into the Service of the State, their firſt Concern was, to undertake it *excluſively* of him, and there is Reaſon to think they had higher Aſſurances than his, that he would not, in any Degree, interfere with the Buſineſs of Government. They could not affirm this, unleſs it were true, ſince their Deſire, to guard againſt all Suſpicion of Intercourſe with him, implies a Reproach to that noble Perſon, which could not be covenanted between them;

them; and if Men of Honour and Veracity deſerve any Credit in a Matter, which they know better, than the reſt of the World; the preſent Miniſters have indiſputably a better Right to be believed in this Caſe, than Perſons, eſpecially unknown, who affirm the contrary, without Authority.

But if the Fact were not ſo eſtabliſhed, their *Characters* would clear them from the random Charge of ſo groſs an Inconſiſtency. I know, how their Characters have been treated of late; but I alſo remember, what was the public Opinion of them, before they accepted their Offices; and their Characters are as pure and unexceptionable now, as they were then; and, to the beſt of my Knowledge, as any Characters public or private in the Kingdom. They were never remarkably attentive to their own Intereſt, and they were conſidered by the Public, as upright and conſiſtent Men. It requires ſome Ignorance of the Value of good Character, as well as much Credulity, and Prejudice againſt them, to be perſuaded, that they would abruptly plunge into Odium and Contempt, by deſcending to be the Crea-

tures and Inſtruments of One, whoſe Power they had manfully reſiſted at a Time, when it was of more Conſequence than now, to defy his Reſentment.

What is there in their *Circumſtances*, to render the Emoluments of Office ſo alluring to them, as to induce them to accept upon diſhonourable Terms? No Vanity could be gratified by it, ſince their former Independency was certainly more reputable, than a Subordination to him: and Avarice is a Paſſion, which has not yet been laid to their Charge. Their great hereditary Fortunes as well as Rank, and the full Vigour of their Abilities, gave them undeniable Pretenſions to the public Service, whenever it was the King's Pleaſure to call them forth; and the State of Things, at the Time of the late Change, was ſuch, as rendered it very practicable for them, to accept his Majeſty's Offer, without departing in any reſpect from their Dignity or their former Profeſſions. It is not natural for Men, ſo circumſtanced, to undervalue the Advantages they poſſeſs, and deſcend to a Colluſion, of which no Man is capable, unleſs inſtigated

inſtigated by *impotent* Ambition, or *urgent Neceſſity*.

Examine their *former* and *preſent* Conduct, and try what ground there is, for ſuppoſing any paſt or preſent Connexion between them and the Favourite.

They diſapproved his Adminiſtration, as ſoon as it was erected, and proteſted loudly againſt it, when it broke out into Acts of Precipitation and Violence. The Spirit of their Oppoſition ſupplied the Defect of Numbers within doors, and was ſeconded by the diſintereſted Spirit of the Nation without. They hazarded the Favour of a Prince, whom they could not fail to love and revere; they gave up their Offices, and ſuffered their Dependents to be turned adrift, rather than ſubſcribe their Names to a Syſtem, which, had, in a ſhort Time, the Effect they apprehended, of endangering the public Peace.

Their Oppoſition was the more adverſe to him, as it proceeded from *Principle*. He could offer no Motives or Temptations

ſtrong enough to reconcile them, and it was impoſſible for him, circumſtanced as he was, by any promiſe he could make for his public Conduct, to remove their radical Objection to him, as a Miniſter. Indeed nothing of that kind ever paſſed between him and them. They do not with all their Objections to him, charge him, as his new Enemies do, with having ever *broken a Treaty* with them, with having ever made them a *Promiſe* of any kind, or having been *conſiderably indebted to them.* They were, from the Beginning, his open declared Enemies. They oppoſed him as a Favourite, leaning ſolely upon the Power of the Crown; and, by that Situation of his, tempted to eſtabliſh himſelf at the Expence of public Liberty. And they oppoſed the late Miniſters, as Men, who having acted avowedly under him, might be fairly ſuppoſed to be ſtill his Agents; and who, by the Obſtinacy, with which they ſtrained the Power of the Crown, againſt both the Spirit and Letter of the Law, ſoon rendered themſelves as obnoxious to a FREE People, as his Situation had rendered him.

This

This was the Conduct of the new Miniſters, before they came into Office. Have they departed from it ſince? Have they manifeſted, by any known Meaſure of theirs, the leaſt Diſpoſition to ſoften the Reſentment, which the noble Lord may, without any Impeachment of his Character, be ſuppoſed to entertain againſt them? Have they not diſmiſſed Men from Office, who owed their Advancement to him? And have they not reſtored Men, who were diſmiſſed in in his Time? The latter could not be done, without an implied Cenſure of his Conduct; nor the former, without an implied Defiance of him.

They removed the principal Hands in Offices of Buſineſs, that they might conduct the public Service by their own Inſtruments, inſtead of his. How far they will proceed in the reſt of their Arrangements does not yet appear. If they ſhould conſult the *public Service* rather, than Partialities of their own, or than a Motive ſo ill ſuited to their Characters, as a mere vindictive Spirit, diſtinct from all Conſiderations of general Good, every Man, who does not

envy

envy them the Merit of ſuch a Conduct, will applaud it. Wherever they ſtop, they have proceeded far enough already, to ſecure themſelves againſt all Suſpicion of Intrigue with the Favourite, and have encouraged the Public to expect, that they will be as far from adopting his Meaſures, as they are from patroniſing his Men, merely as ſuch.

They were barely eſtabliſhed, before His Majeſty rewarded the inflexible Integrity of a great Ornament of the Law. Whether this proceeded immediately from his own Royal Breaſt, or from the Advice of his Miniſters, it was certainly dated in the preſent Adminiſtration. The Merit of that Patron of Liberty was conſpicuous in the Time of the late Miniſters, for he had the Honour of offending them to a great Degree, and, if I miſtake not, of provoking them to ſome public Invectives againſt him. Was the Honour, conferred upon him by the Crown, a ſecret Article ſtipulated with the Favourite? I have no Authority to affirm, and am well aſſured, His Majeſty will never be addreſſed to declare, by whoſe

Advice

Advice this was done; but I have a Right to conſider it as a Pledge to the Public, of the good Diſpoſition of the Men, in whoſe Adminiſtration ſo proper a Meaſure took place.

Is the noble Favourite ſo particularly happy in his Temper of Mind, as to be inſenſible to this Series of Hoſtilities? Is he ſo conſummate a Politician, as to have ſubdued the moſt natural Reſentments, and to load with Honours and Power, for a very remote Purpoſe, the Men, who have given him all poſſible Proofs of a conſiſtent inſuperable Diſlike to him, a Diſlike, not founded in his *perſonal*, but in his *public* Character. It is the greateſt Offence a Miniſter can receive in this Country, to have his Affection for Liberty ſuſpected. That Offence has been given to him ſo plentifully, and ſo effectually, that we muſt ſuppoſe him a Saint or a Stoic, if he could bend his Temper to Acts of great Kindneſs and Goodwill towards theſe his original Enemies.

Other

Other Men, who had not the Courage or Inclination to offend him, till their Caſe either with their Royal Maſter, or with him, became deſperate, may be led, by their own Ideas and Ways of acting, to impute the late Change to Negotiation and Intrigue with him. Yet I am perſuaded, even they are not unacquainted with the Truth which it anſwers a temporary Purpoſe to deny; and the Publications, which have ſprung from themſelves or their Friends, would incline a Byſtander to ſuſpect them capable, of impoſing more, than their own *real* Opinion, upon the Credulity of the Public.

Since then all that we know, of the *Characters* and *Conduct* of the preſent Miniſters, flatly contradicts the Pretence of their being the Creatures and Inſtruments of the Favourite, the *Compariſon* of them with their *Predeceſſors* is the only remaining Ground, upon which ſuch a Pretence ſhould be founded, in order to merit Attention or Credit. But neither will this anſwer the Purpoſe.

I ſhall

I ſhall not dwell upon a Compariſon of the *Characters*, that being needleſs and diſagreeable. The Public knows the Characters on both Sides, and I need not point out, which would ſuffer by the Compariſon. But their Condition and Conduct may be compared, without entering into mere Perſonalities.

Who has *ſupported* the Favourite, and who has *oppoſed* him, ever ſince the Conteſt with him began? I might ſafely leave the Queſtion unanſwered. When he firſt erected his Standard, the late Miniſters reſorted to it; the preſent fled from it. When that Standard became triumphant, Mr. G—— was the voluntary Standard-Bearer. He accepted of different Offices, at a Time, when the Favourite was predominant, and doubtleſs made him the ſame Returns, without Doors, which every Man in Parliament can witneſs he made within, when he broke looſe from his Family and Friends, to ſupport the Favourite's Syſtem.

He was not ſo active in applauding the Peace, as in defending the other Meaſures of that Time; but he did what was equivalent to it, in point of public Character, when he exchang'd a Situation, which would have oblig'd him officially to ſupport that Meaſure, for one, which obliged him only to give it the Sanction of his Vote. And, to make full Reparation for this Exceſs of Delicacy, he took every ſubſequent Occaſion, of drawing a Veil over the Glories of this Nation by the repeated and needleſs Mention of the *unfortunate* Expences of the War; Expences, which he himſelf had voted and concurred in, even with reſpect to that Part of the War, which was not the primary Object of the Britiſh Nation.

When he was placed at the Head of the Treaſury, he being then upon good Terms with the Favourite, was moſt probably recommended by him, eſpecially, as there was at that Time no other qualified Perſon, who would accept the Office upon that Recommendation. He could propoſe no *public*

Con-

Conditions in accepting it, having before concurred in all that noble Lord's Meaſures, and having, if we may judge from the whole of his Conduct, undertaken a Continuation of them. If he made private Terms, for his own Family, or his remaining Friends, the Public cannot well regard them as Marks of his Independency, after the Zeal, with which he ſupported general Warrants, a new Extenſion of Exciſe Laws, and other obnoxious Meaſures, which either took their Riſe in the Adminiſtration of the Favourite, or were occaſioned by it.

This Gentleman is particularly mentioned here, becauſe he ſeems in the Papers and Pamphlets to be the Hero of the diſmiſſed Party. At preſent he and his late Colleagues diſavow all Connexion with the Perſon, to whom they have been obliged, and under whom they have ſerved. It is not my Concern, to ſtep in between the two Parties, and it ſeems an Happineſs to the Public, that they are ſeparated at laſt, ſince both were become the Objects of public Jealouſy and Diſlike. But I muſt ſuſpect the Truth

of the Account delivered out, that the Diſmiſſion of the noble Lord's Brother occaſioned the Diſgrace of the late Miniſters, ſince that Meaſure appears to have been the *Effect*, not the *Cauſe* of the Rupture; and they would do well to conſider a little, before they claim any *Merit* from it. Had it been done upon *public* Motives, it would have been done much *earlier*. The *Time* and *Circumſtances* of it prove only, that they were juſt then vindictive, and ambitious to ſet up for themſelves, when they could no longer depend upon him.

I am far from wiſhing to reduce them, in the public Eſtimation, below the Standard of Truth; and the preſent Miniſters need not the Aid of thoſe Characters, to ſet off their own. But it became neceſſary to ſtate the Caſe of the two Adminiſtrations, with reſpect to the Favourite, in order to ſhew, how unfair it is to conclude, that the preſent are the Creatures and Inſtruments of that noble Perſon, becauſe the late were ſo. The late Miniſters had been obliged to him, and acted under him; the preſent never had a Connexion of any Kind with him, always

always oppoſed him, and, ſince their Entrance into Office, have acted like Men, not only *independent* of him, but *adverſe* to him.

He is alive, it is true, and has a Right, till he is legally deprived of it, to appear at Court and in the Senate. Let his late Coadjutors drive him from both, if they can, for they are beſt qualified, from their intimate Knowledge of his Meaſures, to impeach him; and they need not doubt, that a fair and regular Proſecution will be ſupported. This would be a more manly Conduct, than exciting groundleſs Jealouſies and Diſcontents among the People, with a View to interrupt other Men in the Service of the State, which they themſelves can no longer ſerve. They muſt in the end grow weary, if not aſhamed, of ſo fruitleſs, as well as illiberal, an Employment of their Time. The Public will not be perſuaded, to think *their* Caſe an Argument ſufficient, to prove the preſent Miniſters under the Influence of the Favourite. The late Miniſters were capable of a *voluntary Submiſſion* to him, when he was at the Head of Affairs;

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the preſent ſtand clear even of the Suſpicion of this. In the Caſe of the former therefore, we ſhould have had Reaſon to ſuſpect his private Influence, after his Retirement, even if no other Appearances had juſtified the Suſpicion. In the Caſe of the latter, there is nothing more to give it an Air of Poſſibility, than barely his Exiſtence.

But the Writers themſelves ſeem ſenſible of the Weakneſs of this Charge, and, being determined at all Events to ſay ſomething of the preſent Miniſters, which they hope will diſcredit them, they now and then change their Ground, and attack them, as the Creatures of a greater Perſon.

In order to give this Repreſentation of them an unpopular Appearance, they treat the Character of that Illuſtrious Perſon, in a Manner ſomewhat extraordinary from Men well affected to his Family. One Writer calls him, with a nonſenſical Indecency, *a military Hand, without Temper or Knowledge of the Conſtitution*; and another is more groſs in his Deſcription of him, and even appears to exult, with an Inhumanity,

humanity, ſufficient to diſgrace any Party, upon the late Uncertainty of his valuable Life.

Every Engliſhman knows the invulnerable Character of that Hero too well, to expect a Vindication of him; but it may aſtoniſh thoſe, who have obſerved former Connexions, to ſee him ſo virulently attacked from that Quarter. It is accountable only from an Obſervation, reproachful to human Nature, that the Rage of a diſappointed Mind is ſometimes too violent, to be ſoftened by the Feelings of Gratitude.

All their late Hopes were defeated by his Interpoſition. They had incurred the Diſpleaſure of the K—, and knew very well, that thoſe Friends of their Royal Maſter and of the Public, who were in Oppoſition to them, would not treat, upon any Terms, with the Favourite; and apparently they did not foreſee the Poſſibility of their own Diſmiſſion by other Means, after Mr. PITT had declined. In this State of Things, they acted like Men perfectly ſecure, and flattered themſelves probably,

bably, with the Hopes of an uninterrupted Ariſtocratical Power, over the Crown as well as their Fellow-Subjects.

In this Extremity, we are told, His Majeſty conſulted the Perſon, in whom both he and the Nation could beſt confide, his Royal Uncle, who had defended the Throne by his perſonal Courage and Conduct heretofore, and could have no Motive, either of Ambition or Intereſt, in the preſent Caſe, to give any other than the beſt and wiſeſt Counſel; and the Counſel he gave produced the Change.

He was never ſuſpected of any kind Diſpoſition to the Favourite. Some of the Writers even acquit him of that, by intimating, that He has received mortifying Injuries from him. He has no perſonal Object of his own, and cannot be ſuſpected of a Wiſh, inconſiſtent with the laſting Proſperity of his Illuſtrious Houſe. The Perſons he is ſuppoſed to have recommended, had every Qualification of Underſtanding, Rank, Fortune, Principle and Character, and enjoyed at the ſame time the general Eſteem of their Country.

No

No Adminiſtration was ever appointed, with more Circumſtances to juſtify the Appointment, and to create a general Confidence in Government. In this View therefore, the Conduct of that Royal Perſon was highly meritorious, and intitled him to the Gratitude of the Nation no leſs, than of the Miniſters, who derived laſting Honour from it. Their Enemies are too ſenſible of this, to paſs by ſo ſignal a Merit, without ſome Aſperſion. They repreſent HIM alſo, as the Inſtrument of the Favourite, at the Motion of a Greater Perſon, and dreſs up this far fetched Surmiſe, in the Form of a mathematical Piece of Buffoonery. Facts and Appearances are ſet aſide, to convert a weak Preſumption into an Argument, by giving it the Support of a ſtrong Improbability.

But this new Species of Reaſoning, upon which they appear to value themſelves, is ſuſpended for a Moment, to give place to another Argument of their own Invention. They repreſent the preſent Syſtem, as only an Exchange of One Favourite for Many.

If Favourites of the Crown were meant, the Subject, having leſs to apprehend from *many* Favourites, than from *One*, would rejoice to ſee the Royal Favour diſtributed. But they explain their Meaning, by an unintelligible Expreſſion, when they call it *accumulating Favouritiſm*, which Words needing a farther Explanation, they intimate, that this Royal Perſon interpoſed, for the ſake of aggrandizing his own Favourites.

Whatever his Partiality may be towards Perſons, who have perſevered invariably, in their Attachment to him, they are not formidably numerous, nor have we yet heard of their Introduction into Offices of Buſineſs. But if this had been the Caſe, there is a Fallacy in the Argument, which cannot eaſily miſlead an intelligent Reader. The Favourites of a Subject are ſuppoſed to be as dangerous to Liberty, as the Favourites of a Prince, which if Hiſtory had not long ſince contradicted, would have appeared ridiculous to common Senſe, upon a Compariſon of the Power of a Prince with that of a Subject, in the moſt limited Mo-

Monarchy. It is indeed ſuch a Confuſion of Ideas, as ſeems calculated to deprive the Word Favourite of its received Signification; a Confuſion natural enough to the Men, who may have been accuſtomed, with ſuch Sophiſtry, to plead the Cauſe of *the* Favourite.

In order to ſtrengthen theſe Charges againſt the Miniſtry, which muſt have appeared to the Perſons, who deliver them out, as too feeble for a laſting Impreſſion, they have recourſe to a more popular Charge, but ſtill more unbecoming and inconſiſtent in them, than all they have alledged about the pretended Influence of that noble Lord. They adopt the Favourite of the People; the Man whom Six Months ago they deſcribed as terrible to this Nation, under the Idea of a *popular Orator*, ſupported by a *democratical Magiſtrate*; and whom at that time, I verily believe, they would have dreaded to ſee, either at Court, or in Parliament, or any where but on the Bed of Sickneſs, where it has, for ſome Years paſt, been their peculiar good Fortune to have him confined.

Here however they have the Advantage of a Fact, and they make the moſt of it. The great Commoner has not accepted the Reins, for which he is ſo eminently qualified. They inſinuate two Inferences from this, neither of which they have a Right to draw, both being unſupported by Fact. They would perſuade the World, that he has ſet his Face againſt the Miniſtry, and that they have precipitately graſped at Power, in Excluſion of him; and the only Appearance, upon which theſe Inſinuations are delivered out, is, his not having accepted an Office.

I affirm, in anſwer to this, upon very good Authority, that he was conſulted before any Change took place; that he was even importuned to come to the Helm; that the preſent Miniſters wiſhed to ſee him there; that the Reaſons, upon which he declined, were perfectly conſiſtent with a good Opinion of them; and that he expreſſed, at the Time, no Diſlike of them. I am doubtful, whether I might not venture to ſay farther, that he expreſſed an Approbation

Approbation of them, and wiſhed them Succeſs; but my Veneration for his great Character inclines me to lay no Streſs upon this, leaſt it ſhould appear to be only a ſanguine Interpretation of his Words. It is ſufficient for the Vindication of the preſent Miniſters, that his Conduct in that Tranſaction implies no Cenſure of them, and threatens no perſonal Oppoſition to them from him.

They have declared it to be their Ambition to act upon his Plan, and to preſerve their Country in that ſtate of Eminence above all other Nations, in which he has placed it. They have declared themſelves ready to give way to him, whenever he thinks fit to accept His Majeſty's Offer of the Helm. As he knew this Diſpoſition of theirs to the Public and him, they ſtand clear of the Charge of his having declined for *public* Reaſons, and can only lament, without condemning, the private Punctilio of Honour, which deprives the King and the State of ſo valuable a Servant.

If

If ever that Delicacy ſhould be ſurmounted, it is highly improbable, that the late Miniſters will be reſtored by him. They have no public Claim to partake in the Diſtinction paid to his Merit, and will hardly recommend themſelves to his Affection and Eſteem, by the temporary unauthorized Uſe they are making of his reſpectable Name. I muſt add in Juſtice to them, that they have not yet ventured to hint, his having diſapproved of their Removal, or having ever honoured their Meaſures with a ſingle Nod.

Of what then is the new Adminiſtration accuſed, with reſpect to Mr. PITT, if it does not appear, that he has ever declared againſt them, or that they have wiſhed to exclude him? There is no other Foundation for any Charge, than his having declined an Office; which, whatever Interpretation it may bear, can admit of none to their Diſadvantage, unleſs he himſelf had explained it ſo. And let the Public judge, which of the two Setts are the warmeſt Friends to their Country, the *late* Miniſters, who, in the Height of their Power,

were

were his declared Adverſaries, and now peeviſhly triumph in the public Misfortune of his Retirement; or the *preſent* Miniſters, who were attached to him, when out of Power, and now regret his having been induced by any Conſideration, to decline engaging in the public Service? Had he accepted, we ſhould have been troubled with very different Repreſentations of him from the Men, who held their Power, excluſively of him, and would have been more enraged, if poſſible, than they are, to have ſeen ſo inſurmountable a Bar to their Recovery of it, as his Appearance at the Helm.

It is barely worth while to mention, how ridiculouſly they value themſelves upon the *Youth* of ſome of the Perſons who ſucceed them. If Youth were the Seaſon for thoſe Paſſions, which interfere moſt with the faithful Diſcharge of a public Truſt, and if an Age more advanced, than that of the preſent Miniſters, were always accompanied with Integrity, public Spirit, and Vigour of Mind, there would be Weight in the Objection. But it is too trifling

trifling to be exploded, as a Charge againſt them, ſince the Perſons, whoſe Youth is treated with ſo much affected Contempt, are not inferior to the late aged Miniſters, in any deſirable Qualification for Buſineſs.

They have alſo been ridiculed, and repreſented as unfit for their Stations, on account of an Amuſement, which is perfectly conſiſtent with the moſt able Head, and the moſt unblemiſhed Character. But there is, it ſeems, ſome Appearance of Levity in it, which ſhocks the grave Heads and Hearts of their Predeceſſors. Can we wonder, that Gentlemen ſo ſolid and pure in their Characters ſhould become unpopular, and have been diſmiſſed from Office, in an Age like the preſent? They ſeem to have been better qualified to inforce and practiſe the puritanical Rigours of the laſt Century, or to reſt their virtuous Souls in the Apathy of an Utopian Government.

But ſeriouſly, I have no Suſpicion, that the Gentlemen, who compoſed the late Adminiſtration, do really conſider an Amuſement

ment of that kind, as either immoral, or too light for a Miniſter of State. They doubtleſs had ſomething to relieve their Minds, after the Fatigue of planning and defending their Meaſures. It is not my Affair, to enquire, how much more innocent their Recreations were? Their Succeſſors are probably as little diſpoſed to receive Inſtructions from them in Pleaſures, as in Buſineſs. But I have a Right to conſider ſuch an Objection from ſuch Hands, as amounting to an Acknowledgement of the unexceptionable Character of the new Miniſters, againſt whom, Enemies inſtigated apparently by the bittereſt Senſe of Diſappointment, have nothing more ſolid, or even more ſpecious to alledge.

The Objections I have been hitherto conſidering are addreſſed to the Multitude: The only remaining Charge ſeems meant as an Addreſs to the Repreſentatives of the People; for the Multitude have no Concern in the Arguments alledged to prove the ſhort Duration of this Miniſtry, unleſs it be the Intention of the Writers, to diſ-

ſuade them from all Obedience to Government. Nor is this Charge addreſſed to the whole of the Repreſentative Body. The diſintereſted Part of them are apt to conſider ſingly the Meaſure propoſed, unleſs the Miniſters, from whom it comes, be ſuſpected of evil Deſigns againſt their Country, in which Caſe their Permanency becomes an Objection, inſtead of a Motive to Concurrence. The Caution before us is given to Men, who aim at ſome permanent Office, and were it addreſſed to them by Name, as a Motive to Action, in their parliamentary Capacity, it would do no more Honour to them, than it does to the Writers, who advance it.

The Permanency of an Adminiſtration depends ſo much upon the Pleaſure of the Crown, that no Man can reaſon about it with Certainty. The preſumptive Arguments are always in favour of a Miniſtry, who enjoy at once the Eſteem of their Prince, and the Good-will of their Country. Yet we have been told with Warmth and Confidence, that it is impoſſible the preſent

preſent Syſtem can laſt. In order to prove this, the Writers eſtimate in the true Spirit of Corruption, the Numbers, upon which the new Adminiſtration may depend. The late Oppoſition, which is in one Page accuſed of having been the Cauſe of Royal Miſeries, is, in another, dwindled into an inconſiderable Number. The Power of the Crown, of which the late Miniſters ſo abundantly availed themſelves, againſt the Spirit of the Conſtitution, and the Senſe of the Public, is now treated as too weak, to influence Men to do Juſtice to both. And the natural Power of an upright diſintereſted Conduct is not at all taken into the Account.

In anſwer to their Eſtimate, we all remember an honeſt Adminiſtration, unaſſiſted by any Exertion of the Power of the Crown, yet more permanent, than that which expired this Summer. Mr. PITT had not the Diſtribution of Royal Favours. He could reward no Man for his Vote, and he would not have puniſhed any Man for his Oppoſition. Yet he conducted the

Buſineſs of Parliament with unparallelled Succeſs. The preſent Miniſters pretend not to his Popularity; but they pretend to a much larger Share in the Good-will of the People, than ever fell to the Lot of their Predeceſſors. Nothing has hitherto been advanced againſt them, that could juſtly lower them in the public Eſtimation; and if we may judge of Men's future Conduct by their paſt and preſent Character, they will have all the Popularity neceſſary to recommend them to the Crown, for they have a fair Chance for carrying on the Buſineſs of Government, with the Approbation of all judicious, diſintereſted, and unprejudiced Men.

For what is it, that gives any Adminiſtration the Appearance of Permanency? Is it high Rank, and good Character? Is it a diſtinguiſhed Zeal for Liberty and for the Family on the Throne? Is it the Royal Countenance? Is it Independency of Spirit, as well as Fortune? The preſent Miniſters have all theſe Preſumptions of Permanency. Their Abilities will appear in the

the Courſe of their Meaſures, and will, I truſt, be too apparent to ſtand in need of thoſe Puffs of a Day, which have for ſome Years paſt been the Diſgrace of Government.

To obviate theſe Preſumptions of their Permanency, their Enemies have once more recourſe to the Name of the Favourite, of whom they ſeem determined to avail themſelves on all Occaſions, whether in Power or out. They ſtate an Alternative, and exult in it as unanſwerable. *Either the E— of B— privately engages to ſupport this Adminiſtration with his Influence, or he takes no Part in it*; in both which Caſes, they conclude the Ruin of the Miniſters to be impending.

In anſwer to this, as it is well known, that both he and they deny the former Part of the Alternative, the latter follows of courſe. But, if he takes no part in the Adminiſtration, they argue, that he will undermine and ſubvert it. There is a more obvious Concluſion, which ſeems to have eſcaped

eſcaped theſe Writers, only becauſe it would not anſwer their Purpoſe; that if he takes no part in the Adminiſtration, it will not in any reſpect be affected by him.

But how is the Fall they threaten to be brought to paſs? Is the perſonal Intereſt of that noble Lord in Parliament ſo very formidable? Are the Inſtruments of Government in his Hands, to be employed againſt the eſtabliſhed Miniſters of Government? And above all, is it decent in Men, who have been for ſome Years paſt notoriouſly obliged to their Sovereign, to ſuſpect a Prince, whoſe Characteriſtic is Virtue and Honour, of ſo groſs a Duplicity, as that of inviting Men into Office, with a view to aſſiſt another Perſon in undermining them?

If the noble Favourite, after having abundantly experienced, how impoſſible it is for him to govern, ſhould be an inactive Spectator of other Men's Meaſures, who can juſtly blame, either him for that part of his Conduct, or the Miniſters, who have no Concern with him. If he ſhould think fit

fit to engage in Oppoſition, the late Miniſters may poſſibly repair once more, as Volunteers to his Standard; and they will then be convinced of the Independency of the preſent, whilſt they themſelves give the Public a freſh, and not a marvellous, Inſtance of their own Inconſiſtency. But with what Effect he will carry on an Oppoſition in alliance with them, may be gathered from the Succeſs, with which he and they jointly conducted an Adminiſtration, which was ſtrengthened by every Nerve and Sinew of the Power of the Crown.

But ſuppoſing the Permanency of the Adminiſtration to be very uncertain, does it follow, that other Men ſhould promote a Stagnation of public Buſineſs, becauſe the Hands, which conduct it, may be changed? Or is a Change of Hands in Adminiſtration ſo extraordinary a Phenomenon in a free Country, that Men cannot ſafely hazard the neceſſary Support of Government, till they have infallible Aſſurances of the Stability of an Adminiſtration? The late Oppoſition were firmly of Opinion, that the then Mi-

Miniſtry could not be laſting; yet they concurred in all the neceſſary Buſineſs of Government. If the preſent Miniſters had openly threatened the Conſtitution, or had in any part of their Lives forfeited the Confidence of the Public, even then their *Characters* would be a more oſtenſible Reaſon for acting againſt them, than the Uncertainty of their Power; whereas here that Uncertainty is made a Plea for oppoſing Miniſters of *irreproachable* Characters.

I would not compare an Aſſembly, repreſenting a free People, to an Army, and I hope never to ſee them muſtered and obedient to the Word of Command, eſpecially on a conſtitutional Point; but I muſt confeſs, that to diſſuade Men from the Service of their Country, by paultry Arguments againſt the Permanency of the Adminiſtration, appears to me ſomewhat like perſuading an Army to deſert on the Day of Battle, by repreſenting the Poſſibility of an approaching Peace.

I have obſerved, ever ſince I have ſat in Parliament, how eagerly the moſt intereſted Men

Men ſeize upon the Merit of giving their Approbation to a right Meaſure, which chances not to interfere with their private Views; and I cannot conceive even ſuch Men ſo totally averſe to an upright and diſintereſted Adminiſtration, as to be led into Oppoſition by a ſmall Body of diſappointed Men, whom they could not ſerve with Reputation, when in Power, and from whom they have not now even the Proſpect of any other Reward.

For my own part, as an anonymous Writer has thought fit to publiſh his Reaſons for declining to take any part in the New Adminiſtration, I have an equal Right to declare my Reſolution, of giving my independent Vote, to ſuch good Meaſures, as they ſhall propoſe; and, to borrow a Phraſe or two from the late London Addreſs, ſince a *happy Eſtabliſhment of public Meaſures* will probably ſoon *preſent a favourable Occaſion*, I ſhall be *ready, to exert my utmoſt Abilities, in Support of ſuch wiſe Councils, as apparently tend to render his Majeſty's Reign happy and glorious*; which Reſolution, I

apprehend, needs not to be vindicated by a Detail of Reaſons. I muſt add to this, as one ſtrong Motive to my Conduct, that I am not ſingular in my Opinion, that it is high time to recover the CREDIT of GOVERNMENT.

It is ridiculous to hear Men complain, that Government has been diſſolved, becauſe three or four Officers of State have been removed. We have ſtill, God be thanked, a KING and a PARLIAMENT. They are the Government. Miniſters are no more, than the Servants of the Crown and Parliament, appointed by the King. Nor does a Change of Miniſters, which theſe Writers ſo lamentably regret, produce any other Fluctuation of Affairs, than ariſes from a neceſſary Change of Meaſures, which has in the preſent Caſe been ſo generally and loudly wiſhed, that the public Tranquillity in a great Degree depended upon it.

I proteſt, I ſhould not have given the Public this Trouble, if the Charges againſt the preſent Miniſters, which are of any Im-

por-

portance, had appeared to me to be *true*; and I confeſs it impoſſible, for an honeſt Man to vindicate their Conduct, whenever they depart from their public Characters. But it is a vain Expectation, that any *diſintereſted* Man will conſider the Diſappointments of a few of his Fellow Subjects as a *national* Cauſe, ſince it was really no more, than a common Exerciſe of the conſtitutional Power of the Crown, which cannot, in the preſent Caſe, in any degree affect the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.

It was not the Diſmiſſion of a PARTY, whoſe Principles eſtabliſhed the Conſtitution; nor of Men, who had eminently patroniſed Liberty; or had been victorious over the Enemies of their Country; or had ſecured by Peace the Advantages gained in War. It was only ſuch a Change of Hands in the great Offices, as may be accounted for, without the leaſt Alarm to the Public, and is a Contingency, to which the Servants of the State, whoſe Offices are held during Pleaſure, muſt in all Reigns be expoſed. *Populus id curat ſcilicet!*

Nor is it ſurpriſing, that ſuch an Event ſhould produce much Rancour in the Minds of the Perſons diſgraced; but it ſeems unreaſonable to vent ſo much of it againſt the Men, who did not diſplace their Predeceſſors, but were invited by their Sovereign, to fill the vacant Offices of State. If their Fall be as imminent as is pretended, where is the Uſe of all this Virulence againſt them? I am rather diſpoſed to account for ſo extravagant a Rage, from the apparent Probability of their *Duration*.

Let angry and illiberal Minds expoſe themſelves in Print. I truſt, they will find it difficult to provoke an Attack upon the LIBERTY of the PRESS. They cannot provoke the preſent Miniſters, either *unguardedly* to iſſue GENERAL WARRANTS, or *obſtinately* to alarm every well affected Mind in the Kingdom, by ſitting up whole Nights, to reſiſt a Cenſure of that Method of ſupporting the Dignity of a FREE Government.

Printed

Printed Invectives make a wider, but not a more laſting Impreſſion, than thoſe which are thrown out in Converſation. The loweſt of the People are too much accuſtomed to that ſort of Language, to be animated by it; and their Superiors will nauſeate it, even when it conveys a *Truth*, and turn their Eyes with Contempt from a *Falſhood*, which ventures abroad without the Diſguiſe of decent Expreſſion. No truly honeſt Man can be ſuppoſed to regulate either his Parliamentary or private Conduct, by ſuch Productions.

It was by the means of *important* Truths, delivered with a *public Spirit*, which will not deſcend to perſonal Acrimony, that the Patriots of former Days tranſmitted the Crown to His Majeſty, and to the Nation the Liberties they enjoy. With what Contempt would they look down upon the anti-miniſterial Publications of this Summer. They would aſk the great Men, in whoſe Service they are written, what is their Object? and finding it to be purely the Gratification

fication of private Reſentment, they would turn their Backs upon ſuch an Oppoſition; and adviſe the Miniſters, to perſevere in their Duty, regardleſs of Men, who mean nothing more, than to interrupt them in the Service of their King and Country; a poor unworthy Deſign, too mean to be avowed by them, but manifeſtly indicated by the Aſſiduity, with which they have laboured to raiſe a Clamour againſt unexceptionable Miniſters, who have not yet taken one exceptionable Meaſure.

There is uſually ſome Pretence of public Good to cover the Deſigns of the moſt malignant Parties; but theſe Gentlemen, I cannot call them a *Party*, for they have not yet erected a public Principle, which the Miniſtry conteſts; they, I ſay, pretend nothing more, than that they are better qualified to ſerve the State, than their Succeſſors; and have nothing more to complain of, than that, in Defiance of the Opinion they entertain of themſelves, they have been diſmiſſed, and other Miniſters appointed in their Room. I verily believe, the Public has

has no Feeling for Diſappointments ſo intirely perſonal, and will not be brought to eſpouſe the Cauſe of the late Miniſters againſt their Succeſſors; till after ſome Experience of the Meaſures of the latter, and a total Oblivion of thoſe of the former.

I would not, for the ſake of the Miniſtry, ſuggeſt theſe Diſcouragements to the ungentlemanlike Manner, in which they are attacked. They will in the end be Gainers by ſuch Miſrepreſentation of them. But I could wiſh, for the Honour of the Britiſh Nation, to ſee Men of high Rank, who have filled public Stations, more magnanimous in their Reſentments. I wiſh, to ſee foreign Powers poſſeſſed of an Opinion, that our Liberties are perfectly conſiſtent with that Reſpect to Government, without which it is in vain to pretend to national Strength. And, ſince our excellent King has been graciouſly pleaſed, to conſult the Wiſhes, as well as the Welfare of his People, in offering the Adminiſtration to their Favourite, and, upon his Declenſion, to the Perſons, who ſtood next to that Gentleman

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in public Eſteem, it is but common Juſtice to His Majeſty, to wiſh him the full Enjoyment of Popularity and Peace. Meaſures of Government may be oppoſed, without Diſreſpect to the King; but, after a Change, which appeared ſo deſirable to the Nation, before it took place, a Clamour againſt the Miniſters of Government, who have not had time to make a wrong Uſe of their Power, may, without any Strain of Prerogative, be interpreted an Oppoſition not only to the KING, but to Government itſelf, and affords but a miſerable Preſage of the Candour, Decency and Public Spirit, with which their Meaſures will hereafter be oppoſed.

FINIS.

175-75